

## Message Text

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22-S

ACTION NEA-10

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INR-07 CIAE-00 PRS-01 PM-04 /078 W

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R 051525Z MAY 76

FM AMEMBASSY RABAT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8513

INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T RABAT 2471

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR SS AG MO MR

SUBJECT: BOUMEDIENE AT 1974 RABAT ARAB SUMMIT

REF: (A) ALGIERS 942, (B) NOUAKCHOTT 827, (C) STATE 092565

1. IN RESPONSE TO MY INTEREST IN POSITION TAKEN BY BOUMEDIENE ON SAHARA AT 1974 RABAT ARAB SUMMIT, MFA SEC GEN ABDELHAKIM EL-IRAQUI READILY PROVIDED TAPE RECORDING OF ALGERIAN PRESIDENT'S SPEECH, PLUS FRENCH AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS. AS FAR AS WE KNOW, THIS TEXT HAS NOT BEEN RELEASED IN RABAT OR ELSEWHERE. THIS BEING SAID, THE MATERIAL IS NO DOUBT PART OF KIT ISSUED TO MOROCCAN EMISSARIES TRAVELING THROUGHOUT WORLD TO GIVE DETAILED EXPOSITION OF GOM'S POSITION ON SAHARA. WE ARE POUCHING COPIES OF TRANSLATIONS TO DEPT. (NEA/AFN AND INR/RNA), ALGIERS, AND NOUAKCHOTT, AND SENDING TAPE TO INR/RNA.

2. HIGH POINTS OF SOMEWHAT RAMBLING AND INTERNALLY INCONSISTENT SPEECH, ACCORDING TO TRANSCRIPT, FOLLOW:

A. BOUMEDIENE LED OFF BY REFERRING TO THE PROBLEM KING HASSAN HAD WANTED TO DEBATE AND SUBMIT TO SUMMIT(I.E., SAHARA). HE THEN STRESSED THERE NO RPT NO PROBLEM BETWEEN MOROCCO AND ALGERIA,

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DESPITE "INCIDENTS" WHEN RESOLUTION WAS PRESENTED BY EGYPTIAN

FONMIN ON SUBJECT AND BETWEEN MOROCCAN AND ALGERIAN FONMINS.

B. BOUMEDIENE QUOTED EARLIER HASSAN PRESS CONFERENCE THAT MATTER WAS NOT TO BE SUBMITTED TO SUMMIT. WERE IT TO BE SUBMITTED, BOUMEDIENE REMARKED, THIS SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE DIRECTLY BY THE PARTIES CLAIMING "TERRITORY, TERRITORY, TERRITORY." AS FOR ALGERIA, IT WOULD NEVER CLAIM TERRITORY OUTSIDE WHAT IT CONSIDERED ITS OWN FRONTIERS.

C. AFTER COMMENTING THAT MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN PROBLEM HAD BEEN RESOLVED AT THE 1969 ISLAMIC SUMMIT, AND MOROCCAN-ALGERIAN PROBLEM AT 1972 AFRICAN SUMMIT, BOUMEDIENE SAID WITH RESPECT TO SAHARA THAT "WE HAVE AGREED" ON PLAN OF ACTION FOR LIBERATION, AND THAT ALGERIA WISHED TO PARTICIPATE IN LIBERATION OF REGION SITUATED ON ITS BORDERS. HE ALSO MADE POINT THAT ALGERIAN BORDER WITH SPANISH SAHARA NOT DEFINED.

D. RECALLING EARLIER DISCUSSIONS AT NOUADHIBOU, RABAT, AND AGADIR, BOUMEDIENE ADDED THAT HE HAD PARTICIPATED AT A MEETING WITH HASSAN AND MAURITANIAN PRESIDENT DURING WHICH THEY AGREED "TO FIND A FORMULA WHICH FORESEES" THE PARTS TO GO TO MAURITANIA AND MOROCCO. "I WAS THUS PRESENT AND GAVE MY AGREEMENT WITH ALL MY HEART WITHOUT RESERVATION." "I THINK THIS PROBLEM IS SOLVED," BOUMEDIENE STATED.

E. BOUMEDIENE CONTINUED THAT WHILE HE HAD NO BORDER OR TERRITORIAL PROBLEM, THE PROBLEM FOR HIS WAS ONE OF SECURITY ON BORDERS OF HIS COUNTRY. IF WAR BROKE OUT BETWEEN MOROCCO AND SPAIN, THERE WOULD INEVITABLY BE REPERCUSSIONS FOR WHOLE REGION. IT ALSO TRUE THAT ALGERIAN-SAHARAN BORDERS NOT YET DEFINED, HE REITERATED.

F. RATHER THAN WANTING TO CREATE PROBLEMS, BOUMEDIENE PROCEEDED, "IF BROTHER PRESIDENTS AND KINGS CONSECRATE THIS FORMULA FOR AN UNDERSTANDING" BETWEEN MOROCCO AND MAURITANIAN AND FOR LIBERATION AND DELIMITATION OF MOROCCAN AND MAURITANIAN ZONES, "I WILL THEN BE AMONG THOSE WHO CONSECRATE THIS FORMULA."

G. SUMMING UP, BOUMEDIENE REPEATED THAT THERE WAS NO PROBLEM BETWEEN HIM AND MOROCCO. ALGERIAN HAD BEEN SILENT RECENTLY BECAUSE THERE HAD BEEN, IF NOT A DIFFERENCE, A DIVERGENCE OF VIEW-POINT BETWEEN MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA. "THERE RESIDES THE PROBLEM." AFTER COMMENTING HE WOULD LIKE TO CLOSE THE FILE ON THIS PROBLEM AFTER THE SUMMIT AND STRESSING ALGERIA'S SUPPORT FOR MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA FOR LIBERATION OF SAHARA AND OTHER SPANISH-DOMINATED LANDS SUCH AS CEUTA AND MELILLA, BOUMEDIENE CONCLUDED: "IF WE FOUND OURSELVES AT A CERTAIN MOMENT FACING A PROBLEM, IT IS BECAUSE AT A CERTAIN MOMENT THERE WAS A DIVERGENCE OF VIEW BETWEEN TWO

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BROTHER COUNTRIES. WE HAVE NOT TRIED TO TAKE THE SIDE OF ONE OR THE OTHER. THAT IS THE HEART OF THE QUESTION..."

3. COMMENT: MOROCCANS OBVIOUSLY CONSIDER THAT SPEECH STRONGLY SUPPORTS THEIR CASE THAT ALGERIANS RENEGED ON COMMITMENT AT SUMMIT AND PREVIOUSLY TO GO ALONG WITH MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN DIVISION OF SAHARA.

4. REHASHING OF ALGERIAN POSITION AT 1974 SUMMIT IS A SOMEWHAT ADACEMIC EXERCISE AT THIS STAGE, AND BOUMEDIENE SPEECH IN TOTO STRIKES US AS BEING SOMEWHAT INCONCLUSIVE. NEVERTHELESS, ASSUMING THAT RENDITION OF SPEECH I WAS GIVEN IS COMPLETE, IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT BOUMEDIENE MADE NO MENTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION, INSTEAD STRESSING NEED FOR MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN AGREEMENT. AT THE TIME, MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN COOPERATION WAS IN RELATIVELY EMBRYONIC STATE, AND BOUMEDIENE MAY HAVE BEEN COUNTING ON INABILITY OF RABAT AND NOUAKCHOTT TO COME TO FULL AGREEMENT ON SAHARA. WHETHER SPAIN WOULD EXIT GRACEFULLY AND FUTURE ROLE OF INDIGENOUS ELEMENTS IN SAHARA WERE ALSO UNCLEAR, WHICH COULD HELP ACCOUNT FOR BOUMEDIENE'S

TACK. IN ADDITION, WE INFER FROM SPEECH THAT OTHER ARABS WERE AGREED PRIMARILY ON DECOLONIZATION AND HAD NOT "CONSECRATED" MOROCCAN/MAURITANIAN ABSORPTION OF TERRITORY, ALTHOUGH MOROCCANS AND MAURITANIANS SEEM TO HAVE PRETTY GOOD BASIS FOR ARGUING THAT BOUMEDIENE WENT FAR TOWARD PROMISING ACQUIESCENCE IN GOM-GIRM TAKEOVER.  
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